I: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

181 831 Mr. Punnett has suggested elsewhere,[1] a reason why polyandry is so rare a form of marriage. The practice of polyandry must almost inevitably weaken the sentiment of possession on the part of the man which does so much to maintain the more ordinary forms of marriage.

[177] The low sexual morality of the Todas is not, however, limited in its scope to the relations within the Toda community. Conflicting views are held by those who know the Nilgiri Hills as to the relations of the Todas with the other inhabitants, and especially with the train of natives which the European immigration to the hills has brought in its wake. The general opinion on the hills is that in this respect the morality of the Todas is as low as it well could be, but it is a question whether this opinion is not too much based on the behaviour of the inhabitants of one or two villages near the European settlements, and I think it is probable that the larger part of the Todas remain more uncontaminated than is generally supposed.

[144] That the Todas are perhaps not so black as they are painted is suggested by two considerations. There is little evidence of the existence of many half-breeds. I examined in one way or another over 500 Todas and must have seen nearly the whole of the 800 people who form the Toda population. I saw few who suggested Tamil or Badaga intermixture and only one boy whose appearance suggested European parentage. A more careful examination than I gave might, however, have revealed other suspicious cases, and perhaps in a race which practices infanticide the absence or paucity of half-breeds may not carry much weight.

The other consideration is of a different kind and tends to show not only that the Todas are not so black as they are painted, but that they are not so black as they paint themselves.

143 831 By means of the genealogical record I was able to work out the relationship to one another of forty-three individuals suffering from colour-blindness. Since this condition runs mainly in the female line, it does not afford very cogent evidence of paternity; but a full examination of my records

[1] *Loc. cit.*

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

the leaf-stalk of the same plant is used. In Coorg the imitation bow and arrow is put into the hand of the newly born child, but this custom is not widely removed from that of the Todas in which the bow and arrow is put into the hand of the mother shortly before the child is born.

The Todas know the people of Coorg, which they call Kwûrg, and have a tradition of an invasion of their hills by these people, but it is very improbable that there has been any direct borrowing, and it seems more likely that some of the customs of the Todas and Coorgs have had a common source.

The resemblance with the customs of Coorg are perhaps more striking than with those of Mysore, and the former region is much more likely to have been influenced by Malabar than the latter. The links with Coorg do not weaken, and perhaps even strengthen, the conclusion that the Todas owe much to Malabar.

If we accept provisionally the view that the Todas migrated to the Nilgiris from Malabar, we are next confronted with the problem as to whether they are directly derived from any of the races now living in that district. The most diverse views have been held by those who have considered the racial affinities of the Todas. Leaving on one side the conjectures of those who have supposed them to be Scythians, Druids, Romans, or Jews, we find that the Todas have been supposed by several writers to be of Aryan or Caucasic origin. De Quatrefages[1] grouped the Todas with the Ainus of Northern Japan and Keane[2] follows him in putting the two peoples together, and regards both as witnesses to the widespread diffusion of Caucasic races in Asia. Deniker[3] suggests that they belong to the Indo-Afghan race, with perhaps an admixture of the Assyroid race.

Previous writers have found no special reason to link the customs of the Todas with those of Malabar, and, so far as I am aware, no one has considered how far the Todas may be of the same race as any of the inhabitants of

[1] *Histoire générale des Races Humaines*, Paris, 1889, Introduction, p. 469.
[2] *Ethnology*, Cambridge, 1896, p. 418.
[3] *The Races of Man*, London, 1900, p. 412.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

this district.[1] In considering this matter, we may anticipate that even if the Todas and any of the tribes or castes of Malabar had the same origin, marked differences would have been produced by the long sojourn of the former on the Nilgiri plateau. How long the Todas have been on the Nilgiri Hills no one can say, but we may safely conclude that a very long time must have been necessary to produce the wide divergence in custom and belief which is found to separate them even from those other inhabitants of India whom they most closely resemble. If the Todas came from Malabar, they came from a country differing enormously in temperature and in general physical and climatic characters from the Nilgiri plateau. Life on the hills must almost certainly have altered the physical characters of the people, and it is perhaps now hopeless to expect that any exact resemblance would be found with the existing races of Malabar even if the Todas are an offshoot of one of them. Nevertheless, in comparing the physical measurements of the Todas, which we owe to Mr. Thurston, with those of various Malabar races taken by Mr. Fawcett, it would seem that the differences are not very great, and in the measurements to which anthropologists attach most importance, those of the head and nose, they are very slight.

In the table on the following page I give the chief measurements in centimeters for Todas, Nairs, and Nambutiris.

The average dimensions of the heads and noses of the Todas correspond very closely with those of the Nairs, and the differences from the Nambutiris are nowhere great. It must be remembered that the measurements on the Todas were taken by one observer, and those on the Nairs and Nambutiris by another,[2] and this may partly account for

[1] In a paper which I have only seen since the above was written (*C. R. de la Soc. de Biol.*, 1905, t. lix, p. 123) M. Louis Lapicque has called attention to the resemblance between Todas and Nairs. He regards the Todas as pure or almost pure examples of one of the two races of which he believes the Dravidian population of India to be composed, the Nairs being more mixed with the negroid element, which forms the other component of the population according to M. Lapicque.

[2] It must also be borne in mind that the figures of the Nambutiris and those of some of the Todas are based on the measurement of twenty-five individuals only in each case.

1: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

141 the large divergence in the case of the maxillo-zygomatic
144 index, which is calculated from the bigoniac and bizygomatic
174 measurements, in both of which there is considerable scope for differences between different observers. The only other measurements which show any decided divergence are the stature and the length from the middle finger to the patella, and the greater stature of the Todas may well be the result of their more healthy environment. The cubit of the Todas also differs very decidedly from that of the Nambutiris, though little longer than this dimension of the Nairs.

	Todas.[1]	186 Nairs.	25 Nambutiris.
Stature	169·8	165·6	162·3
Span	175·9	175·1	170·0
Chest	82·0	80·6	83·7
Middle finger to patella	12·0	10·1	10·5
Shoulders	39·3	40·0	40·7
Left cubit	47·0	46·2	44·2
Left hand, length	18·8	18·5	18·0
,, ,, width	8·1	8·3	7·8
Hips	25·7	26·0	26·2
Left foot, length	25·0	25·4	24·5
,, ,, width	9·2	8·8	
Cephalic length	19·4	19·2	19·2
,, width	14·2	14·1	14·6
,, index	73·3	73·1	76·3
Bigoniac	9·6	10·4	10·6
Bizygomatic	12·7	13·1	13·2
Maxillo-zygomatic index	75·7	80·1	80·4
Nasal height	4·7	4·8	4·9
,, width	3·6	3·6	3·7
,, index	76·6	76·8	75·5

We do not know the probable errors of these different groups of measurements, but the agreement between the Todas and the two castes of Malabar is so close as to suggest strongly a racial affinity between the three.[2]

142 The hairiness of the Toda is perhaps the feature in which
144 he differs most obviously from the races of Malabar, while the
174 robustness of his physique and general bearing are perhaps almost as striking. The latter qualities may be entirely due

[1] Some of these measurements are based on the examination of eighty-two men, others are derived from twenty-five men only.

[2] The relations existing between Nair women and Nambutiri men must have brought about an approximation of the two Malabar castes in physical characters, even if they were originally of different ethnical origin.

I: Rivers E-5 (ca. 1901-02) 1906 Toda

142
144
174

to his environment, to his free life in the comparatively bracing climate of the Nilgiris, and, so far as we know, the development of hair may have a similar cause. Of all the castes or tribes of Malabar, the Nambutiris perhaps shows the greatest number of resemblances to the customs of the Todas,[1] and it is therefore interesting to note that Mr. Fawcett describes these people as the hairiest of all the races of Malabar and especially notes that one individual he examined was like a Toda.

I am not competent to express a decided opinion on the amount of importance which is to be attached to the resemblance which is shown by the figures on p. 708, but it seems to me that the facts before us give no grounds[2] for separating the Todas racially from the two chief castes of Malabar.

The identification of the Todas with Nairs or Nambutiris would still leave their racial affinities somewhat indeterminate. The Nambutiris are often supposed to be Aryan invaders of Malabar, and, owing to the cause already mentioned, the Nairs are so largely of Nambutiri blood that, if the Nambutiris are Aryan, the Nairs must also be strongly Aryanised even if they were originally of pure Dravidian descent.

If future research should show that the Todas are an offshoot of one of the races now existing in Malabar, and if any definite conclusion can be drawn as to the time during which they have been on the Nilgiri Hills, physical anthropologists will be provided with a most interesting example of the influence of environment on the physical characters of a race. Few greater contrasts of environment could be found in a country than that existing between Malabar and the Nilgiris, and it is possible that the Todas may furnish a striking example of the influence of environment on physical characters.

[1] It is worth noting that they practise male descent, while the Nairs follow the Marumakkattayam system of inheritance.

[2] I should much like to know the ratios between the lengths of different limb bones, such as those shown by the radio-humeral or tibio-femoral indices. The observations on the cubit and the distance from the middle finger to the patella suggest that considerable differences might be found between the Todas and the Malabar castes in these ratios, which do not seem to me to have yet received from the physical anthropologist the attention they deserve.

2: Marshall G-5 (1870) 1873 Toda

were widows, I did not meet with a single instance of unmarried adult females. But, on the contrary, I have been able to record several examples of maids wedded in childhood, either to boys or to young men; and in one instance of a young woman of seventeen married to a boy of fourteen years.—See Table No. 9. CHAP. XXVI.

Although there *are* degrees of kinship, within whose limits the union of the sexes is held in actual abhorrence, yet half-brothers and sisters are not included amongst the objectionables. I judge from the internal evidence afforded by their mode of life; the size and crowded condition of their tiny houses: their natural dispositions, so gregarious and unacquisitive as to be uncontrolled by such moral doubts as a sense of personal property outraged, would prompt: the disproportion of the sexes: unlimited opportunity. These points conspire to convince with irresistible force, that here communism is in fullest operation.

Very possibly, some etiquette may be in force among them to place a certain bar on their private practices. But I have not had opportunity to ascertain absolutely the form and outline of their private domestic habits. My belief is—and in this respect Mr. Metz is in full accord with me—that every disgusting habit, which might be expected in such a state of life, is the common practice among them, but unaccompanied by much sense of impropriety.

The almost entire absence of evidence of foreign blood in their veins, is worthy of note, even if a reason may not be ascribed with any degree of confidence, to the phenomenon. Surrounded by tribes, varying much in appearance from the Todas, and from one another, and for many years in close proximity to an English settlement; yet not one single Europeanised countenance has been met amongst them, nor could I point with certainty to any faces bearing the stamp of a foreign native tribe.

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60
Irula AW53
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56

earthen floor. The opening into this hole is covered over with the trunks of young trees laid close together, side by side, with a mound of earth raised over them. This is removed for the reception of each fresh corpse, which is flung in headlong like that of a dog, without any ceremony or preparation whatever.

Like the Kurumbas, they[1] have no notion of marriage, but live promiscuously one with the other, save that the two classes keep themselves to themselves.

Both these unfortunate races have doubtless retrograded, mentally and physically, under their long continued endurance of hardship, and are, probably, in a lower and more debased condition at the present day, than ages ago, on their first arrival in the locality.

In conclusion, it is difficult to believe that any of the tribes I have thus endeavoured to describe (excepting, of course, the Vadacas) can be in any way allied to the inhabitants of the plains; whilst it appears almost impossible as regards the Todas, a tribe as distinct from all its various surrounding neighbours as an oasis in the desert. Superior in physique, countenance, and character, free from the inherent thirst for blood so universal among all wild races, and yet brave and courageous, by moral influence alone exercising dominion over larger tribes, exclusively pastoral practising polyandry, speaking an unknown tongue, believing in an invisible deity,—they stand totally isolated in the very midst of an enormous population of civilised and progressing people, of an utterly different religion; and after, it may be, thousands of years, still retain unchanged their primitive character, and the observance of religious rites and customs practised in prehistoric times.

There is no doubt that all these hill-tribes are aborigines of the peninsula of India, the whole area of which was probably once occupied by them. Some have thought it possible that they may all have been originally of one race; and others, in like manner, have argued that, even in the extreme instances of the Toda and the Kurumba, the difference in physical character may be attributed to the nature of the regions they respectively inhabit. This is allowing extraordinary power to such influences, and is, moreover, entirely contradicted by actual fact in the case of the Khotas. That tribe, occupying precisely the same regions as the Todas, is as opposite to them in physical character as is

[1] [The Erulas -- Analyst]

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60
Irula AW53
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW36

T 144 174 KO 144 174 Ku 144 174 I 144 174

the Kurumba. Why, unless originally different, should one tribe have short clustering hair, with bushy beards, while another in the same district has long straight locks, with little or no beard? why should the one tribe be brown, with women fair, and the other have both sexes perfectly black? and what influence of climate could convert a Kurumba's nose into a Roman one?

It is very probable that the two most degraded of these tribes —namely, the Erulas and Kurumbas—were originally one, and that the slight physical differences existing between them may have resulted from the nature of their respective situations and consequent modes of life. The Todas and Khotas, however, can never have been one people; and the characterising differences of the present day must have always been equally marked. The preservation of their respective characteristics may be due to the fact of these tribes having escaped pursuit, or even observation, at the hands of the successive subjugators of the country, owing to the lofty and inaccessible retreat which they selected for themselves in the Nilgiri mountains. The Todas might, indeed, have been located there in earlier ages, not only previous to the irruption of the Hindoos across the Indus and through the plains of the Deccan, but anterior to the nations that preceded them, and possibly from the earliest ages. The Erulas and Kurumbas, flying thither for refuge, and finding the summit already in possession of a superior people, would naturally shelter themselves in the untenanted solitudes lower down, hiding in the dense forest of the mountain sides as at the present day. Their partial inoculation with the religion and language of neighbouring races seems also to confirm the theory of isolation in respect to the other, and further removed, tribes. In the Todas, therefore, is it not possible that we may have a remnant of one of the earliest races that inhabited Asia whose rites and customs, if not introduced into Europe by a westward migration, were doubtless analogous to those of the Celts of Britain? May they not be a living link connecting the present with ages of which we still know next to nothing, and in their singular social customs, religious rites, and even personal appearance may we not picture to ourselves, probably with a very near approach to accuracy, the scenes and people of an era coeval with, or even prior to, the stone monuments which on

4: King G-5 (no date) 1870 AW60 Toda AW60
Irula AW53
Kota AW55
Kurumba AW56

T
144 their mountains, as in this land, have so long excited our interest
174 and speculation?

KO The Todas have been, in turn, considered as outcast Jews,
144 Roman colonists, and Celto-Scythians; one writer asks if they
174 could be Aryans, or might not rather be Turanians, and another
KU propounds their affinity to the Tasmanians. I do not pre-
144 sume to advance an opinion on so difficult a subject as this, but
174 have thought it interesting to point out the striking analogy that
I exists between their rites, customs, and monuments, and those of
144 the Celts of Early Britain, an analogy not unknown to antiquarians.
174 On the other hand, I have drawn attention to the many points of resemblance existing between them and the Kaffirs. The number of these I might have added to, for I have left unnoticed here some with which I was much struck at the time. I have also glanced at the few points they have in common with the Jews of old, and also with the ancient Romans, whose coins have, by the way, been found plentifully in the Deccan.

Though I do not deduce any theory of origin from the above resemblances, they are equally entitled to notice with the former, and may possibly qualify the soundness of conclusions that have been drawn from Celtic analogy.

The real origin of the Todas and Khotas is a question which, if ever to be elucidated, we are not, as yet perhaps, sufficiently acquainted with their language satisfactorily to determine, and I would earnestly recommend the subject to this Society as one worthy of its investigation. There is, in fact, hardly any more inviting field for the anthropologist than that of Hindostan, almost every quarter of which furnishes wild tribes of whose history little is known. There were two others of these which interested me very much, namely, the Brinjarries and the Niadis.

000 The former are the gypsies of India, a nomadic tribe roaming the Deccan with large herds of bullocks. The lineaments of the white race are plainly visible in their sable countenances. Their dress, too, is a partial approach to that of the European, though the tall handsome women wear very singular armlets, bangles, and necklaces. One of the latter which I procured, will be found worth the inspection of those acquainted with other eastern ornaments of that nature.

The other tribe, that of the Niadis, is of a totally opposite character. They are a wretched people scattered over the low hills and waste districts of Malabar. They are nearly naked, but

23: Peter E-3 (1938-?) AJ4 W. Tibetans
TODA AW 60
2190

To 618 423 231 595 778

and an inferior clan which serves the Thartars, known as Teivil. They have no landed property like the Tibetans, but are herdsmen and have large herds of buffalo, some of which are sacred. In this case, therefore, we do not find the polyandry grouped around landed property which is not supposed to be divided. The Todas only practise fraternal polyandry, and when I asked them if they practised non-fraternal polyandry, as in the case of the *magpa* marriage among the Tibetans, they were very shocked. They thought it was a very immoral idea that two men, not being brothers, could have one wife in common.

To 133 341

The country in which these Todas live is not barren like Tibet. On the contrary, they live in a very wooded area. Part of the present Todas actually live on a golf course, because British troops have quarters in this area and the officers have set up a sporting club which includes part of the Toda territory. The houses are very small, built only for protection, and radically different from any native construction which their neighbors have. I do not know where they got this architectural style, and nobody has been able to trace its origin. There is a rather tiny door through which one has to bend to enter. The house is all thatched, very well built, and quite snug inside. The front is made of boards, and there is a wall around for protection.

To 291 ●144 142 302

Men and women alike are dressed in long, flowing, white robes, with red and black stripes on them. They are of an obviously Indian type, rather good-looking. Some of them have progressive ideas to the extent of wearing spectacles, because they are either far- or short-sighted. They are quite good physical specimens of humanity, the color of their skin being dark brown and their hair jet black. The men are very hairy. Some of them wear turbans, but usually they go about bare-headed, showing a rich growth of black hair which they all have, young and old. I wondered if they had a secret formula for hair-dressing but they do not seem to